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A

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

DR. WARBURTON,

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

LONDON:

Printed for J. SHUCKBURGH, at the *Sun*,
next *Richard*'s Coffee-house, *Fleet-street*.

MDCCLX.

A

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. W[illegible]RTON,

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON:

Printed for J. Snowdon, at the Sun,
near Arthur's Coffee-house, MDCCXL.

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OF THE

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THE Reader will perceive, that this Letter was written before Dr. Warburton *was promoted to a Biſhoprick. The reaſons that have hitherto retarded its publication, it is not material to give: let it ſuffice, that we have now obtained leave to print it juſt as it came to our hands, though we are ſenſible that the Addreſs is improper.*

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A LETTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. WARBURTON.

REVEREND SIR,

IT may not be improper to aſſure you at my firſt approach, that the perſon who addreſſes himſelf to you in this Letter is one who entertains a high degree of reſpect for your learning and abilities; nor is he the leaſt diſpoſed to doubt

the ſincerity of your intentions in the application of theſe talents to the ſervice of religion: but, as he does not know that you have yet laid in any claim to the prerogative of infallibility, he finds himſelf at liberty to embrace or reject either ſide of a queſtion, even though it ſhould happen to be contrary to that which is embraced or rejected by you; and he apprehends this may be done without any danger of incurring the imputation of preſumption or ill-breeding. Men cannot always bring themſelves to think alike, and perhaps the world would be but little the better for it, if they did; for it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that to an oppoſition of ſentiments is owing the higheſt improvement of human reaſon: all we have to take care of

is,

is, that we diſſent with moderation, and find fault without acrimony.

The points upon which I am going to offer you my opinion, and in which I cannot concur with you, are contained in the Dedications to the laſt edition of the ſecond volume of your Divine Legation, the one addreſſed to Lord Chief Juſtice *Mansfield*, the other to the *Jews*: almoſt the whole of the former is to me exceptionable, as well as the new, additional part of the latter.

After juſt giving a hint, not ſo much of the occaſion, as of the right you have to his Lordſhip's protection, you proceed to ſay, "I had lived to ſee— "it is a plain and artleſs tale I have to "tell—I had lived to ſee, what Law- "givers have always ſeemed to dread,

"as the certain prognoſtic of public "deſolation, that fatal criſis, when Re-"ligion hath loſt its hold on the Minds "of a People."—Here it is, Sir, even at the firſt ſetting out, that I find myſelf obliged to ſeparate from you: the tale is plain and artleſs enough indeed; but I hope, and verily believe, it is a tale without any truth in it. I am ſenſible how much it is the faſhion to run down and depreciate the times in which we live: it is not only the practice of the preſent, but has been the practice of all ages; and there is ſomething, I know not well what, in the mind of man, that generally diſpoſes him to give a favourable reception to doctrines of this tendency. But I own myſelf ſomewhat ſingular on this head. The proſpect affords no pleaſure to

me:

me: till I ſee it fairly demonſtrated, that we are ſo much ſunk below our forefathers, (and the demonſtration is, I thank God, ſtill wanting) I would chuſe to harden myſelf againſt the belief of it. Can it reflect any honour upon the revelation of Chriſt, to ſuppoſe that mankind are growing worſe and worſe under it? Say what we can, many there are, and thoſe of no mean abilities, who will make ſome judgment concerning the utility of an inſtitution, from the effect which they ſee it has upon the manners of men, and the happineſs of ſociety. If they are convinced that really and in fact it does no good, that the world is little or nothing the better for it, it is to be feared, this will have ſome connexion with their ideas in regard to

its

its truth, and proportionably weaken their veneration for it. This ſeems to follow as a natural conſequence, ſuppoſing the fact to be true, that *Religion hath loſt its hold on the Minds of the People*, which is the thing you aſſert; and then you go on to date the origin and growth of this evil from the acceſſion of the preſent Royal Family to the ſovereignty of this country: ſo that your aſſertion amounts, in other words, to this, That there is not ſo much religion at this time in this nation, as there was in the days of Queen *Anne*. I obſerve that you do not endeavour at all to prove this point, but only to account for it; whereas, in my poor apprehenſion, the proof ought to come firſt. In philoſophical diſquiſitions the fact is al-

ways the firſt thing to be eſtabliſhed; then, and not till then, we call for the ſolution: and why are we not to proceed the ſame way in matters of a moral nature? Here therefore, Sir, I take the liberty of aſking, how you can be ſure of the fact you aſſert? what certainty you can poſſibly have, that people in general are not as good now, as they were in that reign? Where, I pray, are your weights and your ſcales? It is known to be an extreme difficult matter to compare the moral and religious character of one people with another, or of the ſame people in different periods; that is, to make the compariſon with ſuch a degree of exactneſs, as that any certain concluſion can be drawn from it. There are ſo many circumſtances to

be

be taken into conſideration, ſome of which it is impoſſible to get fairly under our view, that it is no wonder ſuch *Eſtimates* are made, as give but little ſatisfaction to the more experienced part of mankind. I would fain know by what rules, or by what external marks, we are to form a judgment in this caſe. There is indeed a tradition, and much ſtreſs I have heard laid upon it, that the pious Princeſs above-mentioned required all her ſervants to attend upon the Court cloathed in mourning during the ſea-

* The very ruin that ſome books under this denomination have had, is to be conſidered as one argument againſt the truth of the doctrines they tend to eſtabliſh. There is no man, let him think the age as corrupt as he will in general, but what is ſure to except himſelf out of the black liſt; and the higher the number riſes of theſe exceptions, the fewer objects for ſatire.

ſon

ſon of Lent: but, though we allow this to be a mark of piety in the Queen herſelf, it is not to be conſidered as any ſure diagnoſtic how far religion operated towards the production of this ſolemn effect in the minds of thoſe Gentlemen and Ladies who choſe to comply with it; any more than, when a Gentleman thinks fit to put his ſervants in mourning for the loſs of his wife, it is hence to be concluded, that the ſervants are overwhelmed with the ſame degree of concern as the unhappy maſter himſelf. Beſides, ſuppoſing them all to be extremely ſincere in what they were doing, you are very ſenſible, Sir, that the obſervation of Lent is of human appointment only; and therefore we are at liberty to hope, that ſome

degrees of this extraordinary reſpect may be withdrawn, which poſſibly ſuperſtition may claim as her own, and the *quantum* of true, genuine religion remain juſt as it was before, both in the minds of prince and people.

Now let us, if you pleaſe, bring our thoughts a little home to the preſent times. You have ſeen the churches of our metropolis (and from hence men uſually take their ideas upon this ſubject) upon many public occaſions of late years. Have you any notion that they were ever more crowded? Was there ever an age that has exhibited ſtronger external appearances of devotion? The heart is in theſe, as well as moſt other caſes, preſent and paſt, beyond your inſpection as well as mine; but, ſo far as

we can judge from what we ſee, no concluſion can, I think, be drawn very unfavourable to the times we live in. Perhaps you will ſay, that the effects of this devotion are tranſient, that the impreſſion ſoon wears off, and people preſently relapſe into their old tracks of pleaſure and diſſipation. Too much of this is undoubtedly true, and all good men lament it: but ſtill it is to be remembered, that we are upon the buſineſs of compariſon, and I ſee no reaſon to believe that it was not always ſo as well as now: the public writings of all ages are filled with complaints of this nature, and may ſerve to keep us a little in conceit with ourſelves. There are two points of view, in which mankind may juſtly, or rather always

ought to be conſidered: if we compare them, either as to faith or manners, with that perfect rule which is to be their direction in both theſe reſpects, we ſhall certainly find them in both very far removed from perfection, and we ſhall moſt of us have reaſon ſufficient to bluſh; but, if we compare the preſent with paſt ages, either in our own or any other country, we ſhall as certainly meet with enough in every page of hiſtory, wherewithal at leaſt to ſoften the colouring, if not totally wipe that bluſh away.

Let us, if you pleaſe, turn our eyes back once more to the reign in queſtion. Was not the very Church itſelf, in the opinion of the largeſt part of the nation, in moſt apparent danger? Surely they muſt feel the foundations

ſhaking,

ſhaking, when their hearts thus piteouſly trembled for the ark of God. And whence could theſe fears proceed, but from the ſtrong ſenſe which poſſeſſed them of the infidelity and immorality of the people? See inſtances enough of this melancholy truth collected together, and exhibited upon the public ſtage of the nation, in the trial of that exalted patriot Dr. *Henry Sacheverel.* What a repreſentation have we of the diſmal ſtate into which the nation was ſunk, both in principle and practice, in the *Memorial of the Church of England?* How deplorable are the lamentations of the Lower Houſe of Convocation? See *A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion among us, with regard to the late exceſſive growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Prophaneneſs,*

laid

laid before the Queen in the year 1711. — As this comes with an authority ſo indiſputable, I cannot help tranſcribing a few paſſages of it. — It beginneth thus: — "We cannot, "without unſpeakable grief, reflect "on that deluge of Impiety and Li- "centiouſneſs, which hath broke in "upon us, and overſpread the face of "this Church and Kingdom, eminent "in former times for Purity of Faith "and Sobriety of Manners." After enumerating ſeveral ways and methods whereby this general aſſertion is exemplified, a page or two afterwards they go on thus: — "Nor ought we, "among the ſeveral inſtances of In- "fidelity, and of the approaches made "towards it, to omit the mention of "thoſe damnable Errors, which have

"been

" been embraced and propagated by
" the ſect of Quakers, who, in ſeve-
" ral of their treatiſes, have taught
" the rudiments of the Chriſtian faith
" in ſuch a manner, as to make it
" ſeem to be little more than a
" complicated ſyſtem of Deiſm and
" Enthuſiaſm.

" From the wicked principles thus
" diſſeminated, as wicked practices
" have followed: for, though it may
" with truth be affirmed, that the
" good Chriſtians among us were
" never better than now, yet can it
" not withal be denied, that the bad
" were never worſe; and that the in-
" ſtances of a prophane and diſſolute
" behaviour have, of late years, been
" very numerous and very ſcandalous.

" The

" The frequency of Oaths and Im-
" precations, the manifeſt growth of
" Immorality and Profaneneſs, have
" made new laws, new edicts, neceſ-
" ſary to reſtrain theſe enormities,
" which yet have not been effectually
" reſtrained by them.

" Seldom hath greater vigilance
" been uſed by the Civil Magiſtrates,
" to ſecure a religious obſervance of
" the Lord's day; nor hath it, among
" the meaner ſort, proved unſucceſs-
" ful. However, it hath not ba-
" niſhed exceſs and luxury, at ſuch
" times, from the tables of the great,
" nor hindred them from waſting thoſe
" ſacred hours in play and vain amuſe-
" ments.

" The exceſſes of Gaming have ne-
" ver been more general and flagrant;

" Conſcience

" Conſcience hath never been more
" openly proſtituted to Intereſt, with-
" out any regard to cenſure; the ex-
" tremes of Avarice and Profuſion have
" never, at the ſame point of time,
" been more remarkably prevalent.

" A due regard to religious perſons,
" places, and things, hath ſcarce in
" any age been more wanting.—Hor-
" rid Outrages have been committed,
" by looſe and diſorderly perſons, in the
" Houſe of God.—Unnatural and
" abominable Impurities, not to be
" named among Chriſtians, have been
" publicly practiſed; and the de-
" bauches of licentious men have been
" indulged to ſuch a height, as to
" end in all manner of Blaſphemy and
" Profaneneſs.

"This ſad harveſt we have reaped "from thoſe ſeeds of Infidelity, which "the Enemy hath ſown among us," &c.

In the ſame ſtrain does this narrative, which was ſoon followed by another equally pathetic, proceed thro' a great number of pages. — What I have tranſcribed is enough to ſhew the ſenſe which a large body of the moſt eminent Divines of the time had in regard both to the religious and moral ſtate of the nation, under the auſpices of Queen *Anne*. And can you well form to yourſelf, good Sir, an idea of any thing worſe? Surely, with this dark catalogue before us, we may hold up our heads a little, without any ſuppoſitions in our own favour, that may be thought to partake of arrogance or vanity.

I am

I am not ignorant of the object againſt which this zealous Addreſs was peculiarly levelled; that almoſt every paragraph was pointed at ſome one or more of a particular ſet of Men, who had indeed been guilty of raiſing their country to a pitch of greatneſs, at which it had never arrived before; but who were now to be run down, and rendered odious to the nation, as the promoters and encouragers of all wickedneſs, of infidelity, profaneneſs, and every ſpecies of libertiniſm. And in this light were they to be held forth to the people, in contraſt to that band of Heroes by whom they were ſucceeded, who had indeed the merit of giving ſcope to the exerciſe of Convocational zeal; but whoſe real concern for Religion and the Church

hath of late years been manifeſted to the world, in the very Leader of that party, by five or ſix volumes of philoſophy that *Socrates* would have been aſhamed of, and which Dr. *Warburton* himſelf has taken ſome pains to refute. Now, though we allow this to have been a principal view in the *Repreſentation* before-mentioned, and is ſo far without doubt nothing at all to you; yet in one circumſtance it fully anſwers the purpoſe for which I have introduced it; in that it ſhews, from the beſt authority that can be produced, into what a low condition Religion was fallen, even before that period, wherein you ſuppoſe the firſt principles to have been laid for its total abolition.

Thus,

Thus, Sir, the fact which you have aſſerted ſo poſitively, (*viz.* that Religion hath loſt its hold on the Minds of the People, that is, more ſo theſe laſt five and forty years than it had before) appears to me very conteſtable at leaſt: but, ſuppoſe we admit the fact, perhaps we may be found to differ as widely in regard to the manner in which it is to be accounted for, the cauſe whence you believe this evil to have originally ſprung. You employ ſeveral pages in order to explain and illuſtrate this matter: but I think the whole of your meaning (as I would avoid a long quotation) may fairly be comprized in the following affirmation; That it is imputable to the Writings in favour of Liberty, that were carried too far, and

were

were too much encouraged, in the beginning of the reign of King *George* the first.

I cannot avoid obſerving here, that this is a charge juſt of the ſame nature with what we have ſeen urged ſo many times over, as a reflection upon the Revolution itſelf in 88. How many writers might be referred to, who have taken an apparent pleaſure in charging this great event with conſequences of this dreadful kind? Atheiſm, Hereſy, Irreligion, Immorality, and indeed Licentiouſneſs in every ſhape, have been often affirmed, without common ſenſe or common decency, to have flowed from that ſource, and overſpread the land. Nor have theſe writers omitted to brand the Perſon who was, under God, the chief

inſtrument

inſtrument in it, with letting in this deluge of impiety upon us, with the odious character of favouring and promoting the cauſe of unrighteouſneſs. —This is a manner of talking upon the ſubject of the Revolution, and that extraordinary Man who had the principal hand in conducting it, that, I own, diſpleaſes me exceedingly. More ſoft and gentle language, in my opinion, becomes us. It is not reckoned ingenuous to be very ſevere even upon the acknowledged defects of a Benefactor, much leſs to ſupply them by ſuppoſition, where proofs are not perfectly clear. I ſcruple not to call the Prince of *Orange*, afterwards King of *England*, a Benefactor; being under the fulleſt perſuaſion, that whatever of Liberty I myſelf enjoy, whatever

of

of Liberty does at this day exiſt in *Europe*, to *him* alone we are indebted for it all. Whatever private failings or imperfections might be found in him, in his public character he muſt ever be reſpected as a friend to the Civil and Religious Rights of Mankind, a friend to Human Nature, a friend to Truth; and this as an effect flowing from its natural cauſe; we ſay he was a friend to the cauſe of Liberty, and Liberty is a friend to Truth. It is acknowledged, even by a *Frenchman**, notwithſtanding ſome ſevere reproaches upon the character of King *William*, (in which neither is he at all conſiſtent) that the *Revolution is the æra of* Engliſh *Liberty*.—And an ingenious writer of our own, who is by no means eſteemed

* Voltaire.

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an enemy to the houſe of *Stuart*, has declared, that "ſo long and ſo glo-"rious a period [as ſince the Revo-"lution] no nation almoſt can boaſt "of; nor is there another inſtance, "in the whole hiſtory of mankind, "that ſo many millions of people "have, during ſuch a ſpace of time, "been held together, in a manner ſo "free, ſo rational, and ſo ſuitable to the "dignity of human nature[c]." Theſe are teſtimonies that deſerve regard, and are ſufficient to outweigh a multitude of petty objections: for, if it be true that liberty has been the effect, and that the nation has been governed ſince that period more agreeably to the principles of reaſon and nature, all farther argumentation upon

[c] HUME's Eſſays, vol. IV. p. 243.

the queſtion of reſiſtance is precluded, and we have only to pronounce, that thoſe who were concerned in bringing it about, are intituled to the higheſt honours and applauſe from their country. In what light then are we to look upon all theſe diſmal complaints of Infidelity, Irreligion, and the Lord knows what? I anſwer, they are to be conſidered as the outcries of Zeal and Bigotry; that the evils complained of are nothing more than the natural conſequences of that freedom which was then procured for the minds of men. You well know, Sir, that the bare calling in queſtion of a received and eſtabliſhed opinion is with ſome men deemed a ſtep to atheiſm; and that a great part of what is many times ſtigmatized with the odious names of

Irreligion,

Irreligion, Blaſphemy, and what not, is found upon examination to lie within the precincts of truth. But granting that in ſome inſtances the proper bounds are exceeded; that men, finding themſelves delivered from High-Commiſſion Courts, and other oppreſſive methods of ſtopping the courſe of free inquiry, expatiated ſometimes too largely, and went into the extreme contrary to that which they intended to expoſe: all this is ſurely better than a blind ſubmiſſion to Authority, that makes no diſtinction between the doctrines of Men, and the truths of God. If differences aroſe in religious opinions, it is plain theſe differences did not affect the vitals of religion, nor diſturb the peace of civil ſociety. Uniformity of opinion in religious matters never

can be procured or preſerved but by the means of perſecution; and there can be no merit in mens thinking and ſpeaking alike, when it is as much as their lives or fortunes are worth to think and ſpeak differently. Indeed, few men will give themſelves the trouble to *inquire*, when they cannot freely communicate the reſult of that *inquiry*: there is an internal impulſe, that prompts every man to make known what he ſincerely believes he has found out to be the truth: when he has once felt an inconvenience upon this account, he naturally ſtops, ſits down contented with his preſent portion of knowledge, fully convinced that there is no ſafety but in ignorance.

No reſtraints can be laid upon ſpeaking or writing, but what, in all probability,

bability, will ſuppreſs more truth than falſhood; that is, more truths of importance, than falſhood that will do any hurt: and this muſt ever be the caſe, till thoſe who are concerned in impoſing theſe reſtraints are raiſed above the common level of human nature, and endowed with infallibility. Mankind have ever been more diſpoſed to believe too much than too little; and I own myſelf infidel enough to be convinced, that the former hath hitherto been the great offence of the Chriſtian world: for, where one man's creed is too ſhort, it is plain to me, thouſands err in the exceſs. It has, indeed, commonly been ſuppoſed, that there is more ſafety in this error than the other; but, in my humble opinion, weakly enough: for I cannot but agree

with

with an ingenious Writer, "that he "who tarniſhes his religion, or de- "files the purity of his faith, with "the belief of any impoſture, which "his reaſon, if he will but exert it, "is able to detect, will be full as "accountable as another, who, either "from prejudices unhappily con- "tracted, or from miſtaken notions "of things, falls perhaps ſomewhat "ſhort of what he might reaſonably "be ſuppoſed to aſſent to[4]." In purſuance of this reflection, we may go on and ſay, that where the heap of faith is too large, whoever endeavours to lop off ſuperfluities, and reduce it to its proper dimenſions, deſerves as well of Truth, and the Author of Truth, as the man who em-

[4] Remarks on Dr. CHAPMAN's Charge, p. 46.

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ploys himſelf in filling it up where it is defective. The demerit of raiſing it too high, or ſinking it too low, ſeems perfectly equal on either hand; though we meet with perpetual remonſtrances againſt the one, and hardly any ſuſpicion of danger from the other. Thus this huge and terrible maſs of evils, brought upon us by the Revolution, when ſteddily contemplated with a diſcerning eye, diſſolves gradually before it, and at laſt evaporates into nothing.

You will pleaſe, Sir, to obſerve, that you do not ſtand charged by me with entering into the views of theſe Writers, of whom it may without injury be affirmed, that they very little deſerve the liberty they enjoy. You have confined your reflections within

within a narrower compaſs, and go back no farther than the death of Q. *Anne*.—However, you muſt permit me to think, that this reproach of yours upon the times nearer to us, whether you intend it, or whether you intend it not, moſt apparently comes in aid of the aforeſaid argument ſo injuriouſly urged to the diſcredit of that great and memorable event. It is the freedom of writing, carried beyond its juſt bounds, that has done all this miſchief: ſo ſay the perſons I have been ſpeaking of in regard to the twelve laſt years of the laſt century, and ſo ſays Dr. *Warburton* of the times immediately ſucceeding to the year 14 in the preſent. They are only different branches of the ſame ſyſtem; they tend to the ſame point; they reſt

upon

upon the ſame principles, and, in my apprehenſion, muſt ſtand or fall together. But to be a little more particular: — There is one book to which you have directed us, as contributing more than any other to the deſtruction of religion, namely, the *Independent Whig*; the Author of which was one of the inſtruments, who, in your opinion, "by ſtripping the Church of "every right it had, in a little time "brought it into contempt*." So that *ſtripping the Church of its rights* was the means by which you ſuppoſe this fatal effect to have been brought about. — Now, without entering one ſtep into the merits of this performance, I freely profeſs myſelf ſo far wanting in penetration as not to perceive, that the exiſtence of religion in the minds of men

* Ded. p. 9.

does at all depend upon their ideas about church-power. There are certainly no ſpeculative arguments by which any ſuch neceſſary connection can be proved; and I hope you will not deny, that a man may be under the tie of religion, who cannot be convinced that there is any degree of original, independent power reſiding in the Church. This power has openly been denied by ſeveral individuals among Chriſtians of almoſt all denominations, and ſome whole bodies of them have actually renounced and diſclaimed it: but would it not be going a moſt uncharitable length to affirm that all theſe people are deſtitute of religion? In ſhort, the fact is evidently otherwiſe: for, from all that appears, and we can only judge from what does appear, the men who refuſe

to acknowledge any ſuch power, are obſerved to live and act as much under the influence of religion, as thoſe who are the moſt ſtrenuous advocates, and bawl the loudeſt for it. This is the caſe with regard even to the thinking part of the world: but, if we deſcend to the lower ranks and orders, who conſtitute the bulk of mankind, what powers the Church exerciſes by its own inherent right, and what it derives from the Civil Magiſtrate, are queſtions with which they are ſo wholly unacquainted, that their religion can never be hurt by the books that are writ about them.

Now, Sir, matters ſtanding thus with me, that is, as I cannot diſcover how religion has been damaged by the *Independent Whig*, or any other book writ upon the ſame principles,

you will not wonder to find me a little backward in acknowledging the utility of your own book, intituled, *The Alliance between Church and State.*—For the houſe that has never been pulled down, cannot properly be ſaid to want building up again.—You will permit me, I hope, to proceed one ſtep farther without taking offence; believe me, it is not my intention to give any. — Let me fairly own then, that I cannot bring myſelf to ſee the merits of this treatiſe in ſo ſtrong a light, as the Author muſt think I ought to do.—The reaſons that oblige me to withhold my approbation ſhall here without diſguiſe be laid before you: of their force and validity yourſelf and the public are now to judge. — In ſhort, my objection is to the very firſt words of the book: the whole

contents do not ſufficiently prove to me the propriety of its title. You call it *The Alliance between Church and State*; — whereas, in my humble apprehenſion, one eſſential property of an *Alliance* is wanting. You define an Alliance[1] to be an *Union produced by free Convention and mutual Compact.* — I agree to the definition; but then the queſtion is, what is included in the idea of a *free Convention and mutual Compact?* The nature of ſuch *Convention* or *Compact* conſiſts in this; that the parties contracting do conſign over, each to the other, ſomething of its own property, which neither has any right to appropriate to its own uſe, without a previous agreement to this purpoſe. We muſt take this laſt circumſtance along with us; becauſe,

[1] Alliance, p. 87.

if

if I have a right to make uſe of any thing which you may call yours, when and in what manner I pleaſe, without ſuch agreement, then no ſuch convention or compact is at all neceſſary; the very eſſence of it is loſt, as much as the eſſence of a triangle, when one ſide of it is taken away. I am here ſubſtituting myſelf in the place of the Civil Magiſtrate, and call You, Dr. *Warburton*, the Church; and, as ſuch, I take upon me to defend my own rights and privileges againſt any excluſive claim or pretenſion of yours. Give me leave to proceed a little farther in this method: — It is aſſerted[z], that you (the Church) confer on me (the State, or Civil Magiſtrate) *the Application of the efficacy of Religion.* — Upon my word, I do not think my-

[z] Page 101.

ſelf

ſelf in the leaſt beholden to you; becauſe, whatever religious doctrines I find myſelf in poſſeſſion of, I do inſiſt that there exiſts in my perſon an abſolute, independent right of applying theſe doctrines to the ſervice of the ſociety over which I preſide, without aſking your leave, conſent, or approbation. Suppoſe this *Compact* had never been entered into, ſuppoſe it by mutual conſent diſſolved, how very abſurd would it be to affirm, that the Civil Magiſtrate (to ſpeak again in the third perſon) muſt ſtand ſtill with his arms bound down, and wait till a contract be made or renewed with the Church, before he can rightfully apply what he actually has in his hands, as the occaſions of ſociety ſhall require? Upon the principles laid down in this book, the Church might have ſtood

out,

out, and refuſed coming into the ſuppoſed contract: what was to be done then? The moſt efficacious doctrine of religion is the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: the Civil Magiſtrate believes it, is willing to make uſe of it for the good of his ſubjects: No, hold, cries the Church; hands off, if you pleaſe; you are not to meddle with it; this is part of my fortune, and I am determined not to marry; and, without a marriage, you can have nothing to do with it.—Say you ſo? ſays the Civil Magiſtrate; let me whiſper a word in your ear:—continue coy as long as you like it; we ſhall ſoon ſee who will be able to ſhift beſt in an unmarried ſtate, you or myſelf: as to the fortune you talk of, and claim for your own, I have as good a right to it as you have, the

right

right of poſſeſſion, and you may debar me the application of it, if you can. —Here let me interpoſe a caution, leſt we lead the unwary reader into a miſtake: it is poſſible he may take the foregoing converſation for a ſort of dialogue; whereas, I very ſeriouſly aſſure him, it is only a ſoliloquy; it is nothing more, actually and in fact, than the ſame man ſpeaking to himſelf: but then he is to underſtand, that this ſame one man is in poſſeſſion of two diſtinct wills, a Civil will, and a Religious one; and the Religious will muſt give its conſent, before the Civil one can proceed to action. Perhaps he will be apt to look upon this as a ſpecies of juggling; but that is no fault of mine: we muſt take things as we find them, and he is to extricate himſelf as he can.

Thus, Sir, have I taken the liberty of pointing out to you where I conceive the very foundation of your book to be weak and defective. Nothing can be more clear to me, than that the Civil Magiſtrate has an inherent right of applying the *Efficacy of Religion* to Civil purpoſes, without having it formally conferred upon him by the Church, conſequently without the ſuppoſition of an Alliance. The doctrine of a future ſtate, it was before obſerved, is a doctrine of the greateſt efficacy that religion furniſhes us with; in ſhort, religion can have no efficacy without it. Now, though I hold that the Civil Magiſtrate has a right of applying this doctrine to the ſervice of the community, yet I do not perceive that he ever has ſo applied it. It is certain he might make it the ſanction, at leaſt one ſanction,

tion, of his laws, if he pleased; but, in fact and reality, there is no such thing. Examine the whole body of *English* laws, turn over all the volumes of the *Statutes at large* from one end to the other, and shew me where any mention is made of religious motives and considerations, as reasons for observing the law. What is the reason the law proposes, that is, its sanction, against robbing upon the highway, or breaking open a house? The gallows. What does it threaten for the prevention of perjury? Transportation or the pillory. What for offences of an inferior nature? Bridewell and the whipping-post. Not one syllable do we find of an argument drawn from religion, any more than if there was no such thing in the world. So that, in fact, the Civil Magistrate does not apply the efficacy of religion at all in

forming or inforcing his laws; and, if he did, it is no more than he has an undoubted right to do. — By the words that follow what I laſt produced, *putting it* [that is, religion] *under the Magiſtrate's direction*, I ſuppoſe you mean, the *external regimen* of religion: and to this I ſay, that the Magiſtrate does not receive this direction by way of voluntary grant or conceſſion from the Church, which it might withhold at pleaſure; but aſſumes it to himſelf as a prerogative naturally belonging to his office, nor does he ſuffer the Church to exerciſe any power but under his own direction; at leaſt, it muſt be a very weak and fooliſh one that does.

Before I cloſe this point, I would only beg to aſk you one queſtion: Are you ſure that the Noble Lord, to whom your Dedication is addreſſed, is of your

opinion in regard to the main matters contained in it? One would naturally ſuppoſe that you knew this beforehand, though I have really ſome reaſon in my own mind to doubt it. There are other perſons who have the honour of being acquainted with Lord Chief Juſtice *Mansfield*, as well as Dr. *Warburton*; ſome of whom may poſſibly have heard his Lordſhip's ſentiments upon this ſubject from his own mouth, with regard, in particular, to that darling child of yours, the *Alliance between Church and State*. The writer of this is quite miſinformed, if * * *

which you represent as having contributed to the keeping of religion in the low, depressed state, to which it was now sunk, upon which I shall take leave to add a short remark. Your account of the matter shall be given in your own words: "For now, Religion having lost its hold on the People, the Ministers of Religion were "of no farther consequence to the "State; nor were Statesmen any longer "under the hard necessity of seeking "out the most eminent for the honours "of their profession[h]." This is farther explained thus[i]: "And those, "whom their profession has dedicated "to this service, [the Clergy] experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune lie "very remote from what enables men

[h] Page 11. [i] Page 13.

"to

" to figure in a ſucceſsful defence of " Revelation." —Upon my word, good Sir, I cannot but look upon theſe as very hard cenſures. It ought not to be denied, that many Clergymen of *real eminence* have received *the honours of their profeſſion*, within the period thus ſtigmatized by your pen; at the ſame time I am as ready to allow, that many may be found of conſiderable merit and good abilities, of whom no public notice is taken. But I apprehend there has been room for complaints of this nature in every other age as well as the preſent, and that a great deal of Clerical merit has been neglected under the beſt-governed ſtates that ever exiſted: whether more or leſs in our own country of late years, it is not eaſy to aſcertain. However, thus much you muſt permit me to ſay, that whatever ground

there

there may be for these complaints in general, sure they do not come decently from the mouth of Dr. *Warburton*. An able and worthy man, that gets nothing, may be suffered to growl a little: but for you, Sir, who bask in the sunshine of eight or nine hundred pounds a year; for the Dean of *Bristol*, Prebendary of *Durham*, and Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, to accuse Statesmen of overlooking merit in the Clergy, is too much in all reason. I dare say you would not chuse to have it thought that all these good things were conferred upon you on any other account than that of your real *eminence*; and many people will have it, that they are no mean reward for a good deal of learning. Some few indeed there are, who are raised above you both in rank and revenue; but they are only a few. With

what

what ſort of eye you look at theſe exalted objects, I pretend not to ſay, or even conjecture: but, if you will take the advice, that I make no doubt you have often given, and conſider what you have, as well as what you have not, you cannot, I think, find any great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the diſtribution of things in this world. You will excuſe me therefore, if I do not perceive that your *Evil Fortune* put you upon writing in an unlucky time. Some patrons to literary merit even this inſenſible abandoned age produces, and Dr. *Warburton* has had the good luck to find them; and the ſmaller the crop is, the more fortunate muſt we deem the man who falls in their way. Give me leave to add one word more on this topic: Pleaſe only to turn yourſelf to the right hand and left in one of your

own Churches, and then tell me, whether you diſcover no other inſtances that might be produced in confutation of your general hypotheſis. To ſpeak my whole ſenſe of this matter in few words: It is clear enough to my eyes, that this Dedication carries in it a remote reflection upon the Revolution: that it contains the ſubſtance of a downright ſatire upon the age you live in, Clergy as well as Laity, can hardly, I think, be called in queſtion. It cannot avoid being conſidered as a reproach to the Illuſtrious Family now reigning over us, and to every Stateſman they have employed ſince their coming to the throne: And it muſt ſurely be looked upon as a very indifferent compliment to the Noble Lord to whom you are writing, as well as every other Gentleman who lent his hand to your ele-

vation. And upon my word there ſeems to be nearly the ſame foundation in truth and reaſon for every part of the cenſure."

Having thus exonerated my mind of the chief objections that lay in it againſt your firſt Dedication, I now take a leap to the latter end of the ſecond. Without doubt it cannot be ſaid that the tranſition is eaſy and natural, the ſubjects of them being of a nature quite unconnected with each other. However, as they ſtand cloſe together in your book, it will not, I hope, be thought much out of the way, if a page or two be added upon it to what has been already ſaid.—My remarks muſt proceed upon your own words:—"Now it is "a common principle of Chriſtianity, "that God, in puniſhment of your "nation [the *Jewiſh*] for rejecting their "promiſed Meſſiah, hath ſentenced it

"to the irremiſſible infamy of an un-
"ſettled, vagabond condition, without
"Country or Civil Policy, till *the fulneſs*
"*of the Gentiles be come in:* And then
"our St. *Paul* declares, that your Na-
"tion, converted to the faith in Jeſus,
"ſhall be received again into favour,
"and intituled to the privilege of Sons.
"The ſentence denounced upon you
"was not only the loſs of your own
"Community, but the being *debarred*
"*an entrance into any other*; for you are
"condemned to be aliens and ſtrangers
"in every land where you abide and
"ſojourn[k]." In this paſſage, I think,
is contained the ſubſtance of what you
have urged, in order to convince the
Jews, how improperly they proceeded
a few years ago, in applying to Parlia-
ment for an Act of *Naturalization*. —

[k] Ded. p. 38.

Sure,

Sure, Sir, it is not at all ſurpriſing, that this people ſhould ſhew no regard to Prophecies, the divine authority of which they do not acknowledge. But that both Houſes of a *Britiſh* Parliament, in which are a great number of Gentlemen of moſt reſpectable abilities, of very conſiderable learning, and many of whom, it is more than probable, are not unacquainted with the Sacred Writings, that all theſe ſhould overlook plain Prophecies recorded in theſe Writings, and concur in an Act that tended to defeat them, is indeed truly ſurpriſing to me. This ſurpriſe of mine, however, is ſomething abated, by the difficulties I find myſelf under in regard to the very Prophecies in queſtion. It is my misfortune to be quite as blind in this caſe as the Parliament was, not being able to diſcover, by the beſt help of a good Concordance,

cordance, in what part of the Scriptures theſe Prophecies lie concealed: for it is by no means clear to me, pardon the confeſſion, that *You*, Sir, have any honour to receive for having brought them to light. You tell the *Jews*, "It is a "common principle of Chriſtianity, that "God, in puniſhment of their Nation "for rejecting their promiſed Meſſiah, "hath ſentenced it to the irremiſſible "infamy of an unſettled, vagabond "condition, without Country or Civil "Policy, *till the fulneſs of the Gentiles* "*be come in.*" If by a *common principle* you mean a *vulgar principle*, a *mobbiſh principle* of Chriſtianity, I moſt heartily agree with you: but that it is *common* to thoſe who chuſe to take their principles of Chriſtianity from the fountain-head, from what they find laid down by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, I muſt take leave

to

to deny, — and to deny it ſtrenuouſly. The only way of deciding this affair is by appealing to thoſe places where the expreſſion occurs. Our Saviour ſays[1], *Jeruſalem ſhall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*; that is, ſaith a Paraphraſe which I will not pretend to mend, "*Jeruſalem* itſelf ſhall be demoliſhed, "and ſhall continue in the poſſeſſion of "the Gentiles, till the time when, the "Gentiles having long enjoyed the "bleſſing of the Goſpel, the *Jews* ſhall "again be converted, and return to the "obedience of God's commands." — But is there one word here reſpecting the Civil Privileges, which the *Jews* might enjoy in thoſe countries where they ſhould be diſperſed after the deſtruction of their city? Diſperſion muſt

[1] Luke xxi. 24.

be

be the unavoidable conſequence of that deſtruction; and the text declares they ſhall not be reſtored again to the poſſeſſion of it, till ſuch a given event ſhall happen: but what their particular ſtate or condition ſhould be in the mean time in other parts of the world, it affirms not a ſingle word. If, therefore, you will not collect more from this text than it plainly contains, you will never find *an unſettled vagabond condition, without Country or Civil Policy*, as a doom pronounced upon the *Jews*, to be deducible from it. — The expreſſion occurs again, *Rom.* xi. 25. and no where elſe, as I can find: *Blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in*; that is, ſaith another learned Paraphraſe, "The blind-
"neſs which has fallen upon part of
"*Iſrael*, ſhall remain upon them but till
"the

" the time be come wherein the whole " Gentile world ſhall enter into the " Church, and make profeſſion of Chri- " ſtianity." Not a ſyllable in this text of St. *Paul* referring to the Civil ſtate of the *Jews* in this or any other country, any more than in the former from the mouth of our Saviour. And, I ſuppoſe, no pains need be taken to prove, that a Prophecy can never be defeated, that does not exiſt. " The ſentence, you ſay, " denounced againſt you, was not only " the loſs of your own Community, but " the being *debarred an entrance into* " *any other.* For you are condemned " to be aliens and ſtrangers in every land " where you abide and ſojourn." Sure, Sir, you muſt have written all this from memory only, without having recourſe to the text itſelf, or your eyes muſt be much better than mine, who truly am

not able to diſcover in what part of the New Teſtament this condemnation is denounced. I can find theſe words, *aliens and ſtrangers*, but once made uſe of, and that is in *Epheſ.* ii. 12. And here they are applied not to the *Jews*, but to the *Epheſians*, who had been Gentiles, to whom the Apoſtle ſays, *That at that time* (before their converſion to Chriſtianity) *ye were without Chriſt, being aliens from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the covenant of promiſe.* So that the *Jews* appear to be no more concerned in theſe expreſſions than the followers of *Confucius*.

Now, Sir, as you have reſted the whole of this matter upon Prophecies of Scripture, and the Prophecies you have produced are plainly nothing at all to the purpoſe, we may here venture to drop the diſpute, though many other argu-

ments might be brought out to ſupport the other ſide of the queſtion. For, ſuppoſing the Prophecies to be much clearer in your favour than they are, that fifty acres of Land will give a man a firmer eſtabliſhment in a country, or cauſe him to conſider it more as his own, than fifty thouſand pounds in Money, it will not be eaſy to prove.

Such was the light in which the attempt to put the *Jews* in a capacity of being naturalized appeared to me all the while the buſineſs was tranſacting in Parliament, nor have I ſince ſeen any reaſon to alter my opinion. This opinion did not ariſe in me, ſo far as I know or believe, from any indifference to the Chriſtian religion; but from a clear conviction, that the Chriſtian religion was not at all affected by it. The arguments that were then thrown out againſt this meaſure,

meaſure, both in the Houſe, as was commonly reported, and I am ſure out of it, were ſuch as, in my apprehenſion, were only fitted to cajole a Mob; and they had their effect. The Paſſions, the Prejudices, and Folly of a Nation, are ſometimes, without doubt, to be complied with: whether or no it was wiſe in the Legiſlature to pay ſo great a deference to them as they did in the caſe before us, I leave to be decided by better Politicians than myſelf: this only ſhall be added, that I very little expected to find the ſame unſubſtantial topics inſiſted upon in a Dedication that owns Dr. *Warburton* for its Author.

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I am,

REVEREND SIR,

With all due Reſpect,

Yours, &c. &c.